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JANUARY 9, 1956

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Washington Wire .... T.R.B.

The State of the Union Message this year is a preview of the GOP platform. There is optimism, rhetoric and a tendency to adopt, or pretend to adopt, New Deal measures in social fields. Ike is recuperating in Florida. The theory now advanced is that by working shorter hours the job will be made easier—as when, for example, a clerk reads his Message to Congress. But the Message underlines another point: you can shorten Presidential hours but not the terrible decisions which a President must make during those hours. Also, there must be follow-up leadership, as in the case of funds for foreign aid. If Ike gets the foreign-aid money he asks for, he must push the program through a reluctant Congress. A President must have stamina for that sort of thing. Wishful Republicans can't diminish the Presidency, or its burden. To cite a typical authority, Arthur C. Millspaugh of Brookings Institute, he wrote in *Toward Efficient Democracy* in 1949: "In no other part of the government is it so vitally necessary that . . . his [the President's] energies should be brought fully to bear on his duties."

When Congress meets, inquiries start. Broadcaster Edward P. Morgan calls it "grotesquely ironic" that Sen. James Eastland (D, Miss.) is probing Communist influence in the press. Signs indicate Eastland would like to do a hatchet job on the good, gray *New York Times,* which has backed civil and racial liberties. The NY Diocese of the Episcopal Church just declared Eastland's Mississippi is "gripped by a reign of terror" and noted that Eastland told Southerners they are "obliged" to defy the Supreme Court's school desegregation order. This, says the church, "is subversion just as real, and—because it comes from a US Senator—far more dangerous, than any perpetrated by the Communist Party." So Eastland investigates the press.

America's big postwar witch-hunt is subsiding, and the courts are helping the work. Yet the fight isn't won. Take for example the question of pensions owed left-wingers. In private life it would be simple. If you owe a man $100 and he is sent to jail, you still owe him the money, or owe his wife. But suppose the man is a Communist and you are the US Veterans Administration. To be specific, the VA owes a disability pension for wounds suffered in the war to one Saul Wellman. But Wellman is a Communist official, convicted and jailed under the Smith Act. So the VA says it doesn't owe its debt to Wellman anymore. In the same way the other day the VA first cancelled, then temporarily restored, the $329-a-month disability allowance of James Kutcher, who lost both legs fighting for the US in Italy. He belongs to a Trotskyite splinter group on the Attorney General's list. The VA charge against legless Kutcher: "Rendering assistance to an enemy of the US."

It is about time that this sort of patriotic pocket-picking should stop. The atmosphere has cleared sufficiently so one can ask for fair play without being instantly branded "pro - Communist." Mrs. Roosevelt and 45 other prominent and brave Amerians have just urged amnesty for 16 Communists in prison under the same Smith Act. This law jails people not for conspiracy to overthrow the government by force, but conspiracy to teach or advocate revolution. We wonder if Earl Warren's Court today would uphold what Fred Vinson's Court approved 6-to-2 in the hysterical heyday of 1951, an act that imprisons people not for any act of violence but for what they teach?

From our political perch we note a debate swirling up in a different quarter, the religious dispute over the significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Washington liberal, Dr. A. Powell Davies, a contributor to this magazine—like Burrows of Yale and other scholars—has been pointing out the implications of these documents. The challenge to conventional Christian doctrine is possibly as revolutionary as the furor over Darwinism. The linen scrolls were discovered in clay jars in a Dead Sea cav in 1947. They seem to have been writ ten half a century before Jesus yet anti cipate many of His practices and teach ings (including the Eucharist) and in dicate that Christianity was an evolu tionary, not a sudden, development Some of the words attributed to Jesus, i would appear, were current before H was born. A process of far-reachin and to some people, painful, readjust ment seems ahead.

Historians tread more and mor boldly on the heels of events. We hav worked out our way through the 70 pages of *American Epoch* by Prof. Ar thur S. Link. Here are some judgment by a contemporary historian of note *McCarthy*: "He won clear title as th most unprincipled man in public lif since Aaron Burr." *Brannan Plan*: "Far sighted and probably the best solutio of the farm problem." *Nixon* (1950) "Not all Republicans emulated the ex ample of McCarthy . . . or so obviously appealed to the popular fear as did Rep Richard M. Nixon in his successful cam paign in California for election to th Senate." *Election, 1952*: "Midwestern farmers voted Republican, in part, be cause Eisenhower simply outbid th Democrats for their support."

Notes: Living costs should rise 2 or 3 percent in 1956; watch out for a "dis inflationary recession" around midyea if credit brakes really take hold; ambe lights are flashing on the big '55 boom, GM's Harlow Curtice, for example, pre dicts a 12-percent cut in car production this year. . . . Word from Adlai is he plans more whistle-stopping, rear-platforming, handshaking than in the aerial hop-skip campaign of 1952. . . . In terior Secretary ("Give-away") McKay faces stern Congressional questioning for his new regulations allowing gas-oil leases in federal wildlife refuges. . . . There's some evidence the Administration "Regency" is using Ike's absence to even old scores, for example, Nelson Rockefeller's resignation, Civil Aeronautics Administrator Lee's ouster, and the like. . . . Congressional Democrats are all ready to destroy their own present high morale by a suicidal battle over the natural gas bill; Texas leaders demand oil-gas producers be freed of federal regulation at the expense of city consumers.

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BEHIND THE HEADLINES

The Fate of the "Spirit of Geneva" in '56

THE ACCORD reached at Geneva in July stirred hope of peace in all lands and was the great event of 1955. The great question of 1956 may be: Is the hope to flourish or to fade?

At the year's end Nikita Khrushchev criticized President Eisenhower in his address to the final session of the Supreme Soviet. Thus, according to the State Department spokesman quoted in the *New York Times,* he "swept aside whatever remained of the Geneva spirit." If this were true it would be news of the grimmest variety.

For a time certainly the Soviet press exceeded our own in barring hostile comment about our President. Now he has been removed from the temporary pedestal erected for him in the Communist motherland. Eisenhower's open sky proposal and his Christmas message to Eastern Europe were lumped together by Khrushchev in a complaint that he was entitled to make. For in both instances the President, who is a policy maker, had made policy statements—the first damaging, the second offensive in Kremlin eyes. Nowhere, however, was Eisenhower damned in the savage language of the past. "Ike is a good fellow," said Khrushchev in effect, "but he has made a blunder here."

In the minds of the Soviet leaders, and of most other national spokesmen, the Spirit of Geneva still lives and is worth cultivating. Its terms were defined by the governments of India and the Soviet Union in their joint communique of December 13. The Geneva meeting, the two governments then declared, reached agreement on one central point—it outlawed nuclear war. This, of course, is a half truth—for the agreement is unenforceable. Yet in a restricted sense the accord is real: the Russian leaders credit the United States with the intention of avoiding war unless we are provoked. They undertake for the present not to provoke us.

In the session of the Supreme Soviet, Khrushchev and Bulganin have spelled out further the meaning of Geneva.

First, it does not require the Communists to surrender one iota of Communist doctrine. In the palmy days of August, for example, rumors spread that the Russians were preparing to abolish the Cominform as they once "abolished" the Comintern—a gesture intended to please Tito and Nehru in particular. Now, Khrushchev insists the Cominform is here to stay.

Second, according to Bulganin and Khrushchev, Soviet actions in the Middle East and in Southeast Asia are in complete conformity with the Geneva accord as they interpret it. They have as much right as the Western nations to aid and to influence these nations. They intend to align themselves fully with "anti-colonialism," which means their resistance to the West, and it is the Western governments who are violating the spirit of Geneva if they object and attempt to shut the Russians out.

At Geneva, in July it seemed as though the Russians were playing for the highest stakes of all—a genuine accord with the United States. The accord would have been costly as well as promising—for it would have required enforceable disarmament and, following the lifting of the Iron Curtain, some domestic relaxation of the dictatorship. The West in addition made the early release of East Germany a condition of the detente. The Russians turned elsewhere. The opportunities that awaited them in the Middle East and in Asia were considerable. They were greatly increased by Mr. Dulles' action on Goa.

RED BOSS SLAMS IKE! cried the *Washington Daily News* on December 30. Similar headlines throughout this nation may stir up righteous indignation against the Kremlin. If so, we are falling out of step with other nations. The Kremlin, unlike the White House, has adjusted its strategy to the post-Geneva world. It is no longer working primarily to subvert non-Communist nations through the use of Communists and fellow-travelers It is seeking instead to make *fellow-travelling nations* out of existing, non-Communist governments in countries as huge as India, as strategic as Egypt, as susceptible to Soviet pressure as Afghanistan. It is managing to enmesh these governments in so many written declarations of mutual intent that they cannot oppose, and will instead lend support to Soviet diplomacy. It is working further to bind these nations to itself through the sale of arms and the purchase of key crops for years to come. The spirit of Geneva then, is more alive than some care to suppose.

The Russians are utilizing it, and we are not. If this new disparity long continues then the Middle East may well be lost. An agonizing reappraisal of Middle East and Asian policies is, therefore, the first requirement of the Eisenhower Administration in the New Year. But all that is taking place so far is an embarrassed glance over the national shoulder as we greet 1956.

Within the government one group maintains that the Middle East is a traditional and therefore legitimate area of interest for Russia which should promptly be neutralized by great power agreement. Opponents of this view reply that neutrality is a phrase without meaning in Soviet minds.

A second group, led before his resignation by Nelson Rockefeller, argues that the US must assert strong and direct leadership in the Middle East and in Asia, providing weapons and economic aid in larger amounts and backing up border guarantees, as in Europe, by the presence of US troops.

A third group maintains that the situation is already so far gone that the Communist ships must be prevented from carrying arms to Egypt by emergency means such as the closing by Turkey of the Straits.

A fourth group looking beyond the immediate dangers is pressing for a 10-year program of economic aid.

Unanswered are the major dilemmas:

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Are we, an exporter of cotton, to purchase and resell the Egyptian cotton crop? Are we, a rice producer, to move Burma's rice? Will we move further into the morass of military alliances that Dulles concluded in the days before Geneva? If not, what can replace them? Pakistan is a fair and urgent example. A weak nation, it has granted us air bases in exchange for armaments. Its strong neighbor, India, has consequently been antagonized. India's pressure on Pakistan has been mounting. Now, in this pressure play, Nehru and Khrushchev are joined. "We are certain," said Mr. Khrushchev, "that Pakistan will realize what an invidious position their country has placed itself in, and will draw the right conclusions." If Khrushchev's conclusions are the wrong ones, what conclusions are right? The ability to clarify these issues and to point to answers, is a major test of both parties in the coming Presidential campaign.

Family Fights Over Our Foreign Trade

ONLY six months ago Congress approved a three-year extension of the Trade Agreements Act after a bitter fight, but the conflict is likely to be enacted all over again in the new session of Congress because of two foreign-trade bills.

One is the recommendation by President Eisenhower that the US should join the proposed Organization for Trade Co-operation, which is likely to become a new specialized agency of the United Nations for trade matters. The other is a drive by high tariff lobbies to obtain Congressional approval for a series of quotas on imports, which would be administered by the Tariff Commission, not the President, and would stifle foreign trade even more effectively than tariffs.

Both issues will be so technical and surrounded with such a smog of propaganda that there will be only partial public understanding. Yet the President's message to Congress last year will still be valid: "If we fail in our foreign-trade policy, we may fail in all. Our domestic employment, our standard of living, our security and the solidarity of the free world—all are involved."

The Organization for Trade Co-operation (OTC) which the President asks Congress to approve was blueprinted by representatives of 35 countries meeting in Switzerland in the spring of 1955. President Eisenhower's representative has already signed the charter, subject to the concurrence of Congress, and rejection of the proposal by the Congress would be a severe blow to US prestige and leadership. Yet the tariff lobbies are directing a well-financed nationwide drive to achieve that defeat. President Eisenhower told a Cabinet meeting in December that he was determined to carry the fight through.

OTC would have responsibility only in matters of tariffs and trade, and would thus be narrower in scope than the International Trade Organization (ITO) which Congress failed to ratify in 1950. The ITO included in its charter responsibilities for full employment, international commodity agreements, international cartels and economic development. This year's debate should therefore be more clear-cut.

The attitude of Congress toward the new organization is likely to be decisive. That is, if the US fails to join, the Organization will not come into being; but if the US joins, the Organization will be created. The commanding role of our dollar trade gives us that veto power

Debate in Congress will cover more ground than the new Organization because OTC would serve as the housekeeping body for the 35 nations which have signed the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), a master pact which now applies to more than 80 percent of free world trade. Congress is not asked to pass upon the merits of the General Agreement, but since those who oppose the new OTC also oppose any form of trade co-operation, the whole pattern of trade agreements will again be under review. The protectionists, who have fought since colonial days against the lowering of tariffs, will rehearse all their familiar arguments.

The American Tariff League, veteran lobbyist, launched a national leaflet program against OTC last October with a red, white and black pamphlet entitled *The Story Behind GATT*. It is a slick advertising agency product, illustrated with whimsical line drawings, and avoiding invective in its text. More than a quarter million copies were reportedly mailed out to community leaders. Since then the Tariff League has also been mailing out an attractive free news letter on "GATT and OTC."

These publications do not dare to attack frontally the American policy of free world co-operation, but they characterize the General Agreement and the proposed Organization as unconstitutional, socialistic, costly, secretive and snoopy.

The charge of unconstitutionality is giving Administration spokesmen the

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most worry. It runs like this. The American Constitution gave Congress the power to regulate foreign commerce. Congress has authorized the President to exercise part of that power. But neither the Constitution nor the Congress authorizes the President to turn over the regulation of American commerce to an international body in which the US would have only one vote out of 35.

Of course there is no truth in the statement that President Eisenhower proposes to surrender our trade control to OTC. Neither OTC nor any other international body can ultimately bind the US Congress or the President. The new organization would be the sponsoring body for trade negotiations, in which American representatives would bargain US trade concessions for similar concessions from other countries. This system of trade bargaining has produced the greatest exchange of goods the world has ever known.

But there are some industries which see greater profits for themselves in high tariffs, even though the net effect of tariffs may be harmful to the nation. These protectionists are spearheaded in the present fight, as in most recent tariff agitation, by such synthetic organic chemical industry leaders as du Pont, Monsanto and Dow. Their chances of defeating this Presidential legislation are conceded by some Congressional leaders to be 50-50.

The drive for import quotas to nullify recent foreign-trade progress is led by another tariff lobby, the Nationwide Committee of Industry, Labor and Agriculture on Export-Import Policy. Its director is a former Texas cattleman, O. R. Strackbein, and its office is one block from the White House in Washington. This lobby group represents cattle producers, citrus fruit, walnut and filbert growers, tuna fishermen, pottery makers and other light industries.

Mr. Strackbein called a meeting of more than 100 business organizations in December to announce an omnibus quota bill which will be sponsored by a Georgia Democrat, Rep. Henderson Lanham. The bill will draw much support from the dissatisfaction of the cotton textile manufacturers and their labor unions in New England and the South. Proponents will use the threat of Japanese competition as one of their chief arguments.

Mr. Strackbein knows that a wholesale program of quotas would be incompatible with American membership in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and could as effectively destroy American economic co-operation with the free world as the rejection by Congress of the OTC. But there is an even more subtle snare in the Strackbein bill. The White House would be deprived of any say in the establishment of quotas; rulings of the Tariff Commission would be final. The high tariff advocate knows well that the individual Congressman is more susceptible to local pressures than the White House. And the Tariff Commission operates as an arm of Congress. It was precisely these pressures which produced the Smoot-Hawley Tariff of 1930, and there is no reason to believe that the results would be otherwise if the Strackbein quota plan were enacted in 1956. It could, some Administration leaders assert, carry us all the way back to the trade wars of the 1920s which preceded the great depression.

Stagnation by Orders from Washington, D. C.

THE TENNESSEE VALLEY won a brilliant defensive victory in 1955 when the Dixon-Yates contract was halted. But this success obscures a larger setback, the slow strangulation under the Eisenhower Administration of the TVA.

Weakened by financial starvation, the TVA continued, nonetheless, in 1955 its work of forest improvement, of research and sale of superior fertilizer, of support of demonstration farms and control of floods. Once again its appeal to all the world was demonstrated, as 70,000 visitors journeyed from 70 countries to study TVA. In providing cheap power, its central purpose, TVA turned in, once again, an outstanding record. Its gross revenues rose by 40 percent to $188 million; its net, 65 percent to $48 million; it contributed $50 million to the federal treasury, a return on power investment of 4.5 percent.

And yet, if present attitudes are permitted to control, TVA is doomed to stagnation. For the federal government, which took two billion kilowatt hours of TVA electricity in 1950, took 22 billion in 1955. At the same time it refused to sanction the funds for the new construction required to meet the rising power needs of the valley itself.

The 148 municipal and co-operative distributors of TVA power expanded up to their limits in 1955. The distributors connected 43,000 new customers, and six reduced their rates, contrary to the national trend. The average residential use of electricity in the valley reached 5,240 kilowatt hours per customer, or twice the national average, for the cost of electricity in the valley is still less than one-half the national average. And yet for the second successive year, in 1955, Congress, obedient to the Eisenhower philosophy, refused to sanction new construction of steam plants. The result is forecast in the TVA's annual report, published on January 1 and signed by the President's own appointee as TVA Chairman, General Herbert Vogel. The report declares:

> **The economic growth within the TVA power-service area is creating** new demand for electricity amounting to about 750,000 kilowatts a year. Normally three years are required to build the large, efficient steam plants needed to supply this demand economically. It has been two years since TVA has begun construction of new generating units of this type, and protracted delay in starting others would make the power-supply situation increasingly precarious with relation to the region's growing requirements.
>
> Generating facilities now under construction will provide modest margins over peak demands through calendar 1956. Unless new construction is begun promptly, these margins will disappear in 1957 and a deficiency of more than 500,000 kilowatts is possible late in 1958. This presumes that the new generating plant planned by the city of Memphis will be built in time to take care of all of its requirements and that only nominal increases will occur in the use of power by the extensive federal defense installations served by TVA.

The Eisenhower Administration will not break the deadlock in the valley. Therefore in April, 1955, TVA sent to the Bureau of the Budget legislation to amend the TVA Act to authorize TVA to sell bonds to finance new power facilities. The proposed bill would also permit TVA to add to its capacity through lease by TVA of power facilities financed by other agencies. The bonds is-

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sued by TVA would be obtained solely by revenues from power operations. They would not be guaranteed by the Treasury and so would not add to the national debt.

The Bureau of the Budget returned the bill with its recommended modifications. It went next to the Public Works Committees of Congress. But Congress adjourned without acting on the legislation. As the new Congress meets, the utility lobby is ready with amendments that will force rate increases on TVA and prohibit its orderly operations by requiring Congressional approval for each new issue of its bonds. TVA supporters in contrast, are in a minority in the 85th Congress. But they won against apparently hopeless odds in the Dixon-Yates encounter, and they will make an equally determined effort now to serve the valley and to save TVA.

Danger—Inflammable!

THE BIGGEST explosion of the 1956 session of Congress is expected to occur between opening day on January 3 and February 12—the day most legislators drift toward home for the oratory of Lincoln Day or Jefferson-Jackson Day dinners. The explosive fuel will be natural gas.

The same old gas bill, awaiting a vote on the Senate floor, would benefit large oil-gas producers, mostly in Southern Democratic states, at the expense of 21 million gas consumers all over the country. This bill got House approval last spring 209-203, but only on the personal plea of Speaker Sam Rayburn. Another Texan, Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson, will lead the debate in the Senate. Texas produces 55 percent of the nation's gas, and oil-gas companies there are large campaign contributors.

Most Republicans in Congress remained silent during the 1955 debate, and President Eisenhower refrained from taking sides, apparently hoping that Southern Democrats would clearly align their party with big business and against the consumer. Now there are important Democratic strategists who fear a repetition of this debate in 1956 could cost the Democrats a number of Northern swing states in the Presidential election, where even a small switch of votes can decide the majority.

Adlai Stevenson has been pressed by some Democratic leaders to intervene with Lyndon Johnson, urging postponment of the fight until 1957. But there is little possibility that such an appeal from Stevenson would sway Johnson.

Sen. Paul Douglas (D, Ill.), the brilliant maverick, is quietly threatening Johnson with blackmail. If the Texan brings up the gas bill, Douglas told the press last week, Northern Senators may be forced to shoot back with explosive civil rights legislation which would hurt Southern candidates in an election year.

President Eisenhower has been urged by Republican campaign leaders to declare himself against the bill. Only one Republican Senator is up for re-election in an important gas-producing state (Carlson of Kansas) while 16 other Republican Senators must face the voters next November in areas where the gas consumer is the important voice.

The gas issue is as complex as it is inflammable, and requires a knowledge of the three segments of the natural gas industry: producers, pipeliners, and distributors. The producer explores for wells, develops them and sells gas wholesale to the pipeliner. The pipeliner transports the gas from the well to the city. The distributor supplies the gas to individual consumers. The first two of these segments were placed under regulation of the Federal Power Commission by the Natural Gas Act of 1938. The third, the distributor, has long been regulated by local utility commissions.

The legislation now before Congress would remove the non-transporting producer from federal regulation, which would mean that when the producer raises his prices at the well, the hike is passed on to the ultimate consumer, because the pipeliner is not in a position to shop around for other supplies.

Twice before, the effort of the gas producers to escape regulation failed. In 1947 the Moore-Rizley bill was killed in committee, and in 1950 Truman vetoed the Kerr bill for this same purpose.

The stakes amount to millions of dollars for the producers—one expert utility witness testified $800 million a year. With the powerful lobby of local gas distributors against the bill, with the possibility that President Eisenhower may declare himself against the legislation, with Democrats badly split, it is anyone's guess what Lyndon Johnson's obligation to the Texas gas lobby will do to the 1956 elections.

The New Soviet Budget

THE SELF-CONFIDENT speeches of Comrades Khrushchev and Bulganin to the Supreme Soviet are well supported by the reports of their subordinates. They portray a government outwardly free of the divisions of the post-Stalin period, and an economy that is under strain, but moving ahead. Western experts are studying every line of the new Soviet budget. They are experiencing heavy going, for all estimates must be adjusted to allow for the cut decreed by the Soviet government on July 1 for the prices of everything it buys.

The budget has reached a plateau, and at first sight this suggests stagnation in the Soviet economy. In fact, past budgets have been swollen by large and fictitious transactions which never took place. These are eliminated in the new budget, and so actual expenditures are rising. *Light industry* certainly receives no more than in 1953—the effort to direct production into consumers' goods has not been revived since Malenkov was displaced. *Agriculture* is allotted roughly the same expenditures as in 1954. *Heavy industry* shows a steady increase. The large sums set aside for scientific research are up once more by 17 percent. Social expenditures, for health, education, physical culture and social security are increased by 10 percent.

The headline news in the Soviet budget has, of course, been the announced cut of 9 percent in military expenditures. The recent trend of these expenditures is summarized below.

Direct Military Expenditures
(billions of current rubles)

1952	114	1955	112
1953	110	1956	103
1954	100		

To these figures there must be added the indirect military items, and further secret expenditures. These are hidden in the residual section of the Soviet budget, which, although large, is somewhat reduced this year. Allowing for the announced reduction in the Soviet armed forces of 640,000 men, and for the wholesale price cut, the rate of Soviet armaments production seems undiminished and in the case of submarines, jet fighters and intercontinental bombers, well in excess of our own.

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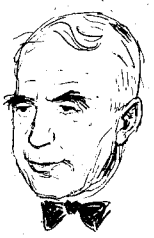
Common Sense and Courage



[*Some remarks of Elmer Davis, on receiving the Stephen S. Wise Award of the American Jewish Congress.*]

There is no doubt that the situation with respect to civil liberties is better than it was two or three years ago; but not enough better to justify us in easing up in their defense. McCarthy has temporarily gone into relative obscurity; which is partly due, at least, to the fact that most newspapers have seen through him. Sen. Thomas C. Hennings' committee has done excellent work; one of its results is a reform in Army security procedures, another the turning inside out of the numbers game. A recent decision by the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco has dealt a blow to the theory, too widely held of late, that a man must be guilty of anything of which he is accused; and there is a more recent decision by Judge Youngdahl [in Washington, D. C.] which points in the same direction. And there seems reason to hope that the Supreme Court, under Chief Justice Warren, will be more respectful of the Bill of Rights than it has been in the past few years.

But all this is not final; and the time seems to have come, as it did in the Dreyfus Case, for the enemy's counter-attack. I am a consultant of the Fund for the Republic, which exists for the defense of the liberties that we thought had been guaranteed by the Constitution, and that organization is now under heavy attack. Even Henry Ford II has said that a few of its activities have been of a dubious character; and indeed it has made a few minor mistakes. But Norman Thomas says it would be most unfortunate if the Fund should be judged on mistakes in speech or in relatively small grants, to the exclusion of the general direction of its activities. This mild criticism from a respectable source is drowned out by attacks from such people as David Lawrence, George Sokolsky, Fulton Lewis, and two successive commanders of the American Legion. What have they got against the Fund? Why, they say, we are not scared enough. We ought to be afraid of the 23,000 Communists among the 160 million citizens of the United States; we should recognize them as a danger to the Republic. Well, no doubt most of them would like to be; but that is a long way from saying that they are.

Arthur Sulzberger, President of the *New York Times*, lately said that he believes in security, both internal and external, but he does not believe that we should lose our sense of proportion, and our sense of history and tradition, in our efforts to protect ourselves. The risks of freedom, he said, are risks we are mature enough to take. . . . Well, some of us are. His speech aroused a monsignor in Buffalo, who said that Sulzberger is ready to risk our freedom to preserve the freedom of suspected subversives. Note the "suspected." Accusation is conviction; and never mind the freedom of the rest of us that might be lost in picking up a few suspicious persons, innocent or guilty.

Well, what do we do about all this? A commission has been appointed, by the President, the Vice-President, and the Speaker, to look into the loyalty-security program; but there doesn't seem to be much hope in that, since few of its members are known to have any interest in civil liberties. Senator Hennings has proposed the appointment of a sufficiently large panel composed of members of the bar who would get a top security clearance, which should have a right, at the request of the accused or his counsel, to confront and cross-examine the undisclosed witnesses. These men would be called public defenders, they would be paid by the government, and any indiscretion on their part—presumably the disclosure of previously concealed witnesses or their information—would be punished.

But this violates the major premise of the extreme right-wing—that the government is always right. Even if you could get a sufficiently large panel of men with security clearance—no small enterprise itself — the first decision against the government would bring down on the panel a storm of denunciation; they would be called crypto-Communists, and it would take a very courageous government to stand by their decision.

I hesitate to suggest so mild and familiar a remedy as education—and yet. . . . Recently I was rereading a book 20 years old—*The Coming American Fascism*, by Lawrence Dennis. Fascism didn't come then, and it has not come in the 20 years since; and most of those who now agree with Dennis that there is no choice except between Communism and Fascism would be ashamed to be called Fascists —at least in public, though I have heard that some of them use that name in private. Nevertheless, if Dennis proved to be a bad prophet, he made some incidental observations that were to the point. "The easiest way," he says, "to unite and animate large numbers in political association for action is to exploit the dynamic forces of hate and fear."

Those forces have been behind this recent hostility to civil liberties, as they were behind similar movements in the past; and Mr. Dennis observes that the only way to avoid hates and fears is to prevent frustrations and remove dangers. He admitted a possibility that liberal leadership might accomplish this; and in fact it has removed most of the frustrations. But the world situation is still dangerous; and how are we going to get rid of fear and hatred about that? Some would say religion would do it, forgetting that the ages when what is called religion has been strongest have been ages full of hatred.

Fear we might be able not to conquer, but to reduce by a spread of common sense. Many representatives of the extreme Right—not all, but a good many —seem to be more afraid of the 23,000 Communists among us than of the hundreds of millions overseas. I cannot believe, however, that cowardice is an essential part of patriotism. Some of us have more faith than that in the United States; we believe there is enough sense, and enough courage, in the American people to maintain the government which was devised for us by the Founding Fathers, and which has worked pretty well for the last hundred and sixty-five years.

ELMER DAVIS

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Tactical Atomic Defense

In these pages recently, Charles G. Bolte outlined a plan for enforceable disarmament, later criticized by Gerald W. Johnson who said that "free nations . . . are condemned to the maintenance of heavy armament" for so long a time as it takes the Communists to discover the fallacy of their theory. Here, Denis Healey proposes international agreement limiting atomic weapons and barring their strategic use.

After the sputter of hope produced by the Summit meeting in July, world opinion has settled back into its customary skepticism about the prospects of disarmament. It has become fashionable to pluck some solace from despair, on the grounds that so long as war is certain to involve annihilation for both sides, it will be ruled out as a deliberate act of policy.

There is an important element of truth in such wishful thinking. Certainly, when the world is divided so fundamentally as it is today, each side is right in trusting its security to the deterrent power of its own arms rather than to any international machinery which has yet been devised to limit armaments.

For some years now the experts have admitted that no conceivable control machinery could be certain of more than 90 percent efficiency in tracking down stocks of atomic weapons and explosives. And since the missing 10 percent might be decisive in war, mutual enemies have little incentive to accept the interference which control in this field would impose. Within certain limits the military value of atomic weapons could be reduced by international control of the means by which they are carried to their targets. But here again the proportion of carriers which could evade any conceivable search might be decisive—and is increasing. Though for some time yet gigantic bomber bases may form an important element in nuclear striking power, it is impossible absolutely to prevent the clandestine placing of atomic weapons near potential targets; and already guided missiles fired from small sites are a major threat to targets within several hundred miles on either side of the Iron Curtain. The same difficulties affect control of biological and chemical weapons.

Even so, Russia has clearly decided that the risks involved for a Communist state in any form of physical control in which non-Communists participate are obviously less acceptable than the risks involved in possession of its own deterrent forces. And if we are honest, we must admit that the complement of this is probably true for any non-Communist state so long as the present world schism persists. For the immediate future at any rate, mankind must place its security in deterrents rather than disarmament.

How effective are present Western forces as a deterrent to aggression? Ever since the Second World War the Western powers have based their security on America's power to destroy Soviet cities with atomic bombs. The main function of alliances such as NATO has been to make this deterrent available to countries other than America herself, and to provide America with air bases which will increase its potency. There can be little doubt that America's nuclear superiority has been our best protection against world war, and that even if Russia reduces the American nuclear lead, the West's atomic striking power will remain a powerful deterrent against any Soviet military action which carries with it a serious risk of world war.

None the less, the atomic deterrent has serious limitations when both sides are able to invoke it. Far too little thought has been given to political implications of the atomic stalemate now approaching. Opinions differ about whether Russia can ever achieve real atomic parity with the USA so long as America controls air bases on the periphery of the Eurasian continent. But it is not important to peacetime diplomacy which side would emerge stronger from an atomic world war if atomic world war is likely to involve large-scale destruction of cities for both sides. Once Russia is known to have acquired the power to devastate American cities with atomic weapons, America's readiness to initiat this type of warfare in response to Sovic aggression is bound to dwindle drama tically. And this will greatly increas the Soviet temptation to risk local war in the belief she could limit the area o the mode of the fighting.

This is by far the most importan consequence of the atomic stalemate America proved her reluctance to sta atomic warfare even when she had over whelming superiority in the field—i Korea and in Dien Bien Phu. Moral an political factors no doubt weighe heavily in her decision. But still mor important was her knowledge that he European allies were vulnerable both t invasion by the Red Army, and to atomi bombing by the Red Air Force, eve though she herself could count on escap ing a direct assault. America's reluctanc to start total atomic war is bound to in crease immensely when Russia can hol American as well as European cities hos tage against the bombing of her own.

The problem can be simply stated Russia has always been reluctant to em bark on policies which might involv her in world war. But she has neve hesitated to use force or the threat of force to gain her ends, providing of course she thinks she can win them locally. As Russia increases her long-range nuclear striking power the deterren value of Western armaments will de pend on their ability to provide loca defense for areas on the Soviet frontier.

In this respect the present military posture of the Western alliance is frighteningly inadequate. Even in Western Europe seven years expenditure of manpower and money by sixteen countries on an unprecedented scale has failed to produce a land force capable of holding an attack by the Communist armies. The real deterrent to war in Europe is not SHAPE but the American Strategic Air Command — and this is not under NATO's orders. Moreover, uncertainty about America's readiness to commit the Strategic Air Command when Russia has the power to retaliate in kind has already led Britain to start building a national thermonuclear deterrent of her own—equally outside NATO. Other members of the alliance are likely to do the same when they have the knowledge and wealth required. And, faced with this general movement away from common defense to independent national

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'eterrents, public opinion throughout he alliance is losing its readiness to rovide the men and money required for nd defense.

he real irony is that this type of think- ng is gaining ground in Europe just t the moment when, for the first time ince NATO was founded, an effective and defense for Western Europe is in ight. General Gruenther has said re- eatedly that he could carry out his ain role providing he is allowed to se atomic weapons and that his present orces are strengthened by the addition f 12 German divisions promised under he Paris Treaties. The present Commu- ist alliance outnumbers the NATO peo- les by three to one—and Communist oldiers have a much lower standard of ving and dying. But tactical atomic eapons have for the first time made it onceivable that on a single front the Vest could hold the Communist armies ithout recourse to indiscriminate atom- bombing of cities. At present the NATO forces do not have either enough en, enough atomic weapons, or enough raining in their use to offer a sure de- ense on land. But they could achieve ll this within five years if the decision o do so were taken now.

Even so, the decision to aim at local lefense in Europe through the tactical se of atomic weapons would not suffice o persuade the NATO peoples that the acrifice would be worth while unless hey have some assurance that tactical varfare will not immediately lead to all- ut strategic atomic attack on cities.

For this reason I believe the most im- ortant defense task facing the West at he present time is to establish a distinc- ion between the tactical and strategic ses of atomic weapons. If such a dis- inction is feasible it will be possible to roduce a certain deterrent against any orm of military aggression. For it will e possible in any case to use a form of etaliation whose cost—to the user no ess than his opponent—is not out of roportion to the value of the issue at take. Such a policy of "measured re- aliation" or "graduated deterrence" of- ers us the only hope of total security. Vithout it we must rely on "massive etaliation"—the strategic bombing of oviet cities—in all cases which cannot e met by our small conventional forces. ut it is easy to imagine cases of aggres- ion where "massive retaliation" under conditions of atomic stalemate between the West and Russia would be far too high a price for us to pay. If we have no alternative between appeasement and total atomic world war, Russia will face us repeatedly with forms of aggression which compel us to choose appeasement.

There are obvious difficulties in es- tablishing a distinction either in weap- ons or targets which might not break down in war. But no attempt to estab- lish such a distinction has yet been made. The recent American military exercise "Sage Brush" shows that unless gov- ernments order their military command- ers to observe such distinctions, the course of land fighting may drag air forces into indiscriminate strategic bombing. But the prospects of establish- ing the distinctions are enormously im- proved by the thermonuclear stalemate, since both sides have the strongest pos- sible incentive for limiting atomic war- fare as much as possible, and for over- looking occasional breaches of any rules which are made. Here America's resi- dual superiority in atomic striking power is invaluable. The Russians would be compelled to conform to any distinctions announced by the West since in total atomic warfare their inferiority would finally be decisive.

Some critics of such a policy of "meas- ured retaliation" will admit its desira- bility and claim that it is in any case the real policy of the Western powers. But they oppose announcing "measured re- taliation" as Western policy now on the grounds that this will weaken the force of "massive retaliation" as a deterrent. I believe this criticism is based on a misconception. "Measured retaliation" does not imply a one-sided renunciation of thermonuclear bombing in any par- ticular case: it means telling the aggres- sor that the West will resist any form of aggression by the most appropriate means in its power, using no more force than is required to halt aggression, but equally using no less force than is re- quired to do so.

The announcement of such a policy would of course be fully effective only when the West had the troops and weapons required to provide a land de- fense in Europe without the sanction of total thermonuclear war. But it is vital to announce now that this is our aim for two reasons: first, because we shall never persuade the allied peoples to provide the troops and weapons required unless we can demonstrate their value in providing a deterrent which does not threaten suicide for the human race. Second, because if we do not announce our intention to limit our form of re- taliation to the minimum required, our apparent reliance on "massive retalia- tion" may tempt the Russians into cal- ling our bluff as they did at Dien Bien Phu. And once fighting begins it may well be impossible to establish any dis- tinctions. The enemy may start bombing our cities first in the hope of forcing immediate surrender, and if not, the absence of clear instructions and prior training may prevent our local com- manders from observing the necessary restraint.

In practice, the greatest opposition to measured retaliation may come from those politicians and industrialists who want the "biggest bang for the buck" in order to keep taxes down. And one must admit that when the atomic stale- mate arrives a sure deterrent will cost more than it does today. The cost of measured retaliation will be high in money, but the award is literally price- less. And the cost could be greatly re- duced if NATO fulfilled its early pledge to provide "balanced collective forces" —*that is if its member countries each spe- cialized in producing for the common pool what it is best fitted to provide.*

It is a little sad to see Britain and the US daily protesting their willingness to share their most intimate defense secrets with the enemy in the United Nations disarmament discussions when neither will share them with its friends in NATO. Britain at least took a step in the right direction at the last meeting of the NATO Council, by offering to give her allies information about guided mis- siles. Let us hope this will stimulate similar advances by other members too.

London DENIS HEALEY

DENIS HEALEY has earned the reputation of being one of the most realistic and well-informed thinkers on world affairs in British public life. A regular contributor to *The New Republic*, Mr. Healey has been in the House of Commons since 1952, prior to which he was International Secretary of the British Labour Party.

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Solidarity—Will It Be Forever?

Now that merger is a fact, the AFL-CIO faces the tests of long-range compatibility

BY ROBERT JONAS

THE CHEERING is over; the votes are in; the delegates have gone home; the AFL and CIO are formally joined in one great federation. Now the really interesting and challenging moment has come, when George Meany and his associates get down to the hard, unsolved tasks of making the new organization work.

For all the applause bestowed upon Meany in the Armory in New York this December the new president's path is by no means free of stones. There are fundamental rivalries to be ironed out; racketeers to be cleaned out; policies to be worked out; and yet the 140 affiliated unions of the new federation are zealous in maintaining no trespass signs on their internal affairs, and the new president's powers are far more narrowly circumscribed than an impatient public is ready to assume.

Meany's first task is to staff the departments of the new federation and to establish their duties and powers. On paper this has been accomplished: in practice, personnel problems and conflicts have in many cases reached the point of danger.

Meany's second task is to ensure that the merger, now taken nationally, be repeated in all its complicated steps in the 48 states, Hawaii, Alaska, Puerto Rico and the Canal Zone. For the fact is that state organizations in both the AFL and the CIO are separate entities whose leaders are elected in state conventions. Since these leaders work closely with national officials in every area of union activity, confusion is inevitable until the state mergers are completed. The national AFL-CIO, however, has no real power to force the state mergers through during the next two years. Only after the two-year period has run can the national organization intervene to secure conformity in state organizations and beyond them in local and county bodies and in industrial union councils.

A third task confronts Meany in accelerating the merger of unions that were rivals and now are parall bodies in the new federation. Many mergers are projecte in jurisdictions such as meat, chemicals, textiles, shoe insurance and utilities. By the time the second conve tion of the AFL-CIO is held, two years hence, its 14 affiliates should be reduced by at least 10 percent.

To return to Meany's first task, there are these maj departments of the new federation on whose functionin its future may turn:

Committee on Political Education. N agreement could be reached on the dire tion of this department, which merged th Labor's League for Political Education o the AFL and CIO's Political Action Con mittee. So James McDevitt and Jack Krol the heads of the two former organization divide the responsibility for directing th new body COPE.

Department of Research and Educatio The new department, drawn from the merged staffs o both organizations, is divided. Research is under th young (38) and aggressive Stanley Ruttenberg wh joined the CIO's Department of Research and Educatio in 1939 and has been its director since 1948. His assista is Peter Henley, acting director of the AFL's researc staff and a far less energetic man. Education is under th mild and likable John Connors of the AFL, assisted b George Guernsey of the CIO. Many former CIO leade fear that the program will lack force.

Department of Legislation. Here again, since th present problems of merger proved too complicated, tw co-directors have been named to direct the lobbying a tivities of the new federation. Co-director for the AFL 72-year-old William C. Hushing. The CIO is repr sented by 46-year-old Robert Oliver who has headed th CIO lobby since 1953. When Hushing retires, th Texas-born Oliver is expected to assume full authority.

Department of Social Security. This is one body th needed no merging since social security was under n special agency within the CIO. Nelson Cruikshank, fo mer director for the AFL, will continue in the same ro

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Robert Jonas is the pen name of a New Yorker who is an authority on the American labor movement and a former trade union official.

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ith his assistant Lane Kirkland. His department is kely to gain in importance as insurance funds expand.

Department of International Relations. Of all the epartments this was the most difficult to merge. Until his December the AFL was formally represented on international matters by George Philip Delaney, the worker elegate to the International Labor Organization. In fact, AFL thought and action overseas was largely in the hands of the Free Trade Union Committee. The Committee as sponsored by David Dubinsky of the International adies' Garment Workers Union, and directed by Jay ovestone, one-time General Secretary of the American ommunist Party who was thrown out by Stalin in the ate twenties, and who has waged political warfare gainst Stalinism ever since. In Europe, the Committee as been represented by another powerful and uncomromising man in Irving Brown. But the CIO, and bove all Walter Reuther, has wanted no part of either nan. Reuther believes that Lovestone and Brown have pposed Socialist liberals and moderates in general in the uropean labor movement with the same intensity as they ave opposed the Communists. The CIO leaders regard ovestone as one driven by hatred, as far to the Right as enator Knowland in his Asian policy and no man to peak in the international councils of free labor from now n. In turn the AFL officials regard Victor Reuther, head f International Affairs for the CIO, as a man aligned ith European Socialists who cannot speak for them.

THIS conflict, one of the most intense within the new federation, boiled beneath the surface of the convention where Walter Reuther staked his great prestige nd sacrificed a significant part of his claim to authority in n effort to block the naming of Lovestone and his aides to he new department. It rose to the surface in a dramatic ccasion one week after the convention when Meany and Walter Reuther were presented social justice awards by he National Religion and Labor Foundation. Meany on hat occasion stunned his audience by delivering an apparently extemporaneous and extremely harsh attack on oft-headed liberals for their tolerance of Communism. or while he restricted his name-calling to the far distant mage of Nehru, his former advisers doubtless pictured nen closer to home in their minds. Reuther listened to his outburst with clenched teeth, and for a moment abor's new unity seemed in peril. But once on his feet euther avoided all reference to Meany's remarks and poke gracefully of making democracy work at home efore shipping it abroad.

In order to avoid naming one of the high-ranking ivals it was necessary for Meany to draw a man from his wn office to head the new international department. He picked George Brown, a statistician by training and ssistant to Martin Durkin of the Plumbers, both in his nion and during his brief term as Secretary of Labor. Brown's new assistant is Mike Ross, one-time head of the CIO's international department and the most knowledgeable and sophisticated man in the field. Ross, born in England, was active in the British Labour Party in his youth. A frail-looking man of 57, he has been assigned to the staff of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions for the past few years, and his work there has gained the respect of AFL and CIO.

Public Relations and Publications. The problem of merging two publicity departments was resolved here by creating two separate departments. Public Relations—with authority over press relations, TV and radio—is headed by Philip Pearl, the solidly established and somewhat lethargic official who has been Public Relations Director of the AFL for the past 18 years. Henry Fleisher, head of publicity for the CIO since 1951, takes over as Publications Director. He is responsible for the merged weekly newspaper, the *AFL-CIO News*, and also for the monthly magazine and all pamphlets issued by the federation.

Organization. This is the department charged with the tremendous task of doubling the AFL-CIO membership within five years. It must also oversee the operations of state and local bodies of the new federation. Last October John A. Livingston was selected as Director of Organization, making him the number three man on the staff of AFL-CIO. His selection was the product of both internal politics of CIO and uncommon good luck. Meany, of course, is head man of the federation staff. William F. Schnitzler, the new Secretary-Treasurer and second man, is also from the AFL. It was agreed therefore, that the CIO could name the organization director. Livingston, as vice president of the United Auto Workers, had proved himself an outstanding organizer. However, he suffered frustration and frequently antagonized Reuther. This in turn made Livingston acceptable to David McDonald, head of the Steelworkers and one of Reuther's most bitter critics. At the same time it resolved a problem for Reuther within his own union.

LIVINGSTON is no intellectual or doctrinaire. He is a tireless and effective master of detail. He made an excellent impression at the convention. He has since arrived at a meeting of the minds with Harry O'Reilly, former AFL organization director who will assist him. New organizing drives will not take place with the impassioned, crusading spirit of the CIO of 15 and 20 years ago. There will be no second costly and oversold "Operation Dixie." Instead, there will be painstaking planning and hard work by veteran organizers.

Livingston's areas of organization have already been laid out; office workers, retail workers, chemical, oil, textiles, lumber and plastics. The drive, however, is far from underway. Before any organizing can be undertaken full agreements must be worked out with the unions holding the relevant jurisdiction. In many cases several unions advance competing claims. There is the

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Samuel Gompers

further question of whether new organization shall be on an industrial or craft basis. At the recent convention of the old AFL Building Trades Department and Metal Trades Department great concern was expressed over these coming drives. Delegates saw their "skills being swept away in the rising tide of industrial unionism." And consequently resolutions were presented demanding that craft unionism be given precedence. Finally Jim Brownlow, the level-headed director of the Metal Trades Department, and Dick Gray, president of the Building Trades, met with a subcommittee of CIO unions. With the blessings of Meany and Reuther the committee thus formed has been made permanent with the hope of resolving jurisdictional disputes between craft and industrial unions. Just how this will be worked out committee members do not yet know. Reuther has said that if the problem is approached in an abstract, theoretical manner there is bound to be trouble. Each organizing drive, he maintains, must be considered on its own merits and only when the time for action arrives.

Unrelated to the newly formed departments outlined here are the major groupings within the AFL-CIO: the Building Trades Department, the Metal Trades Department, the Union Label Trades Department and the Industrial Union Department. These groupings hold their own conventions, elect their own leaders, and resolve their jurisdictional disputes where they can. Of these four the last, headed by Walter Reuther, is the most important. Reuther feared before the convention that his department would be a reminiscing society of former CIO unions. Instead it is a force of 66 international unions, 36 from the AFL and 31 from the CIO, with seven million members. The startling rush to this department was caused in part by the fear of some cra unions that their jurisdictions might be divided by th industrial brethren. More important, however, is t realization that in industrial unionism the future lie Three one-time craft unions of the AFL, the Machinist the Teamsters and the Electrical Workers, found this o and so became new giants. The Carpenters are now r flecting on the lesson. Reuther and James Carey, form Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO, therefore hold posts th are potentially of the highest importance. Howeve McDonald was able to place a loyal district director o the Steelworkers, Al Whitehouse, in Reuther's depar ment as the full-time executive director and thus to ro Reuther of a part of his new authority. Reuther, howeve is a hard man to box in. Nor is McDonald's position a boss of his own union finally secure. He was successfu recently in securing the election of a hand-picked sub ordinate, Howard Hague, as vice president of the Stee workers. But opposition to hand-picking is still a liv force in the union. A further source of hope for Reuth is Meany himself. For although the one-time plumb springs from a background wholly unlike Reuther's an has been called the last craft union president of th federation he sees eye to eye with Reuther on a surprisin number of things. The tests will come in the sem monthly meetings of the Executive Committee of th new federation. Here, McDonald may side with t craft union spokesman, Matthew Woll of the Pho engravers, and Harry Bates of the Bricklayers; in t event Meany and Schnitzler may join with Reuther a Carey to form a working majority.

UNDER the CIO pattern, which the new federatio had adopted, members of the Executive Committe are named to supervise the work of the various sta departments. Meany himself will oversee the new Com mittee on Political Education which may prove the mo interesting to follow. He is a good choice. As head c the AFL Meany built up the LLPE, despite the stubbor opposition of the old line unions. In 1952, he insiste that the AFL back a Presidential candidate, Adl Stevenson, for the first time since 1923. Meany certainl will not sanction the wide measure of freedom grante PAC leaders by the CIO. He will move warily until loc and state unity is realized and that will take all of tw years. The color and drama which PAC brought to poli ical campaigning may further be absent from COPE activities. But under McDevitt and Alexander Barka the shrewd director of Textile Workers' PAC, who wi eventually become the second in command, COPE likely to grow into an effective force.

Nonetheless, the idea that COPE will take over major party in America exists only in the imagination c Sen. Barry Goldwater. COPE's own leaders know th they can provide the winning margin only on close ele tions; it can bring the average union member to the poll

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only when working-class sentiment is already established and strong, and even then it cannot mark his ballot. For all the scare talk, discussion of a labor party is restricted these days to the pressurized lungs of Mike Quill.

On the civil rights front the unions which have been far from exemplary have made strides comparable to those of the nation itself. Many former AFL unions which enforced a color line have quietly erased it. Under the chairmanship of James Carey, the Civil Rights Committee is expected to advance into more white supremacy areas in the union movement. Two years from now when the second constitutional convention of the AFL-CIO meets, it must consider a proposed amendment to the constitution which would outlaw racism just as it outlaws racketeering and Communism. This proposal was put forward by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Sleeping Car Porters and one of the two Negro vice presidents of the new federation. Meany has promised him it will be fully considered. If, as expected, a number of operating rail brotherhoods come into the AFL-CIO, they will have to toe the line on racial relations. In fact, this problem is the only question which has kept the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers out of the new federation so far. The leadership of these two unions are now striving to meet the federation's standards which are, incidentally, far more rigid than for those unions which are already affiliated.

THE hottest seat in the new AFL-CIO has been reserved for Al Hayes, the pleasant head of the Machinists. He will supervise the Committee on Ethical Practices which is charged with cleaning racketeers, Communists and other undesirable elements out of the new federation. In this, Hayes has his work cut out. Already before him are charges against the old AFL Auto Workers and against elements of the Teamsters, particularly James R. Hoffa, the ruthless vice president from Detroit who heads up his union's Central States Conference, and expects before long to head up the union itself. In pursuit of his ambitions Hoffa has already concluded "mutual assistance" pacts with the International Longshoreman's Association, thrown out of the AFL on charges of racketeering, and with the Mine, Mill and Smelter Union, thrown out of the CIO as Communist-dominated. He and his kind present a wholly new and highly disturbing problem to the moderate and principled leaders raised by the CIO. In Hoffa's world of deals and power grabs, talk of civil rights and liberal candidates is bunk. His is the real world of dog eat dog, and yet his view will reach into the highest councils of the new federation where his chief, Dave Beck, is a vice president. Reporters who attended Beck's conference at the Vanderbilt Hotel during the AFL-CIO convention are still striving to recover from the unpleasant impact of his personality.

One reporter, for example, asked Beck if the pact with Mine-Mill provided that union with Teamsters' money. Beck replied that a loan had not been worked out but he added: "Let me assure you that if such a loan is made the Teamsters will get it back with adequate return." He then described to the reporters some of the loans that he had arranged in the past to other groups and how much profit each had realized. In Beck's mind no other consideration was involved.

Meany and Reuther

The Teamsters are a powerful force in union labor. The role they choose to play may not alone make or break the new federation but it could. Through their domination of road transportation that approaches monopoly, and their half-underground alliances, the Teamsters boast an arm lock on many communities. In many others, teamster respect or lack of respect for a picket line can determine the outcome of a strike. For this reason many otherwise well-led unions are reluctant to give the Teamsters any trouble. On the other hand, there are former AFL and CIO unions which have been hurt—and badly hurt—by Teamster raids. They are determined in the new merger to give no quarter. Among the leaders who will not easily yield is Meany himself. This much was seen at the merger convention when Beck insisted that the entire Teamster membership be permitted to affiliate with the new Industrial Union Department. That move would have all but ruined Walter Reuther—which no doubt was Beck's intention. It was illogical at best. Both Reuther and Meany informed Beck that he could affiliate only his members organized on an industrial basis. Beck assented and set the figure at 700,000. Meany reset it at 400,000 and Beck gave in with little show of fight. With leadership such as this, the new federation may prosper.

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How Are Crops in Manhattan?

BY HALDORE HANSON

ALDIE, VA.

A COUPLE OF weeks ago some farmers were sitting around the coal stove one night in Aldie Elementary School, palavering about the mean things Jack Fischer wrote about farmers in the December *Harper's*. Fischer, who has a family interest in 160 acres of cotton and wheat in Oklahoma, is *Harper's* editor-in-chief and has a farm expert's reputation because he worked in the Resettlement Administration during the depression. He was also a Rhodes scholar and a war-time Lend-Lease expediter.

As near as I could figure out from the farmers' conversation, Fischer said the US wouldn't have any surpluses if farmers would get on the ball and compete at world prices without any handouts.

I forgot about the matter until two days later the automatic waterer in my cattle barn froze, and while I was waiting for the trough to fill up from a hose, I stood looking at the glossy coats on the steers and listening to them slurping up corn silage. A moment of idleness like this sometimes brings to mind things a man has forgotten. I remembered someone once telling me that Adlai Stevenson is more impressed by a good article in a national magazine than he is by a memorandum from one of his staff. Could this be the reason so many magazine writers are currently so productive? Editor Max Ascoli, for example, leads off the December 29 *Reporter* warning Stevenson that he has not yet decided to support him and advising him editorially to stand by moderation and beware of betraying highbrows. Associate Editor Norman Thomas opens the December *Socialist Call* with a stern call upon candidate Stevenson to speak out on public power, the Supreme Court segregation, and other matters. Moderation will not do.

Can this Jack Fischer piece, I suddenly thought, be another example of piping a point of view from Manhattan to Libertyville, Ill., via a magazine column?

I shut off the water in the cattle trough and went straight to the house to look up my December *Harper's*. Fischer's piece was captioned "The Country Slickers Take Us Again," and starts out about the farmer getting his boots licked by both political parties.

"Before next November's elections," Fischer wrote, "Democrats and Republicans alike will be groveling all over the barnyard as they court the country vote—but the Democratic antics will be the most embarrassing. Nearly all Democratic politicians are now convinced that the farmers offer the largest single block of detachable votes—and many seem willing to use almost any tool of demagoguery . . . to pry it loose from the Republican grasp.

"So when Congress opens up for business next month the Democrats will set up a pious, baritone moan about the wretched plight of American agriculture. They will pass a farm relief bill, loaded till its axles creak with rigid price supports, loans, 'conservation' payments, and other shabbily disguised subsidies. Then they will pray for the President to veto it. Quite possibly he will have the honesty and courage to do just that—and Democratic Congressmen will then be sure that they have the farm vote in a gunny sack."

Fischer went on for five hilarious columns. But the matter shouldn't end there. This is serious business.

First, Mr. Fischer says the farmer doesn't really have a problem, because the individual farmer's income is down only 5 percent from his "scandalous wartime prosperity," and he quotes Harrison Salisbury of the *New York Times* that, "The ordinary Iowa farmer . . . has a minimum of two new cars and they are usually brand new Buicks or Oldsmobiles or Cadillacs."

Here are some facts: "Scandalous wartime prosperity" gave the average American farm operator in 1947 (a peak year) income of $4,049, while his city cousin earned $5,746. By 1954 the farm operator had slumped to an average income of $3,250, while city folks had raised their average to $6,750.

Salisbury's bright remark about ordinary farmers owning Cadillacs just won't stand up. Secretary Benson's latest farm income report dated December 16, 1955, shows total net income per farm in Iowa at $5,235. If an ordinary farmer bought two Buicks or Oldsmobiles or Cadillacs out of that income, he had nothing left for gasoline, to say nothing of clothing and food. And farm income in Iowa is second highest in the nation.

ONE Des Moines publication, *Wallace's Farmer and Homestead*, was sufficiently piqued by Salisbury's Cadillac remark to undertake a state-wide survey on farmer-owned cars. In its issue of September 3, 1955, it reported that the average car age is 5.4 years, and the makes of cars included:

Ford, Chevrolet, Plymouth	72.3	percent
Buick	6.2	percent
Oldsmobile	6.2	percent
Cadillac	0.4	percent

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It is no more surprising that a few Iowa farmers should have incomes of $25,000 and drive Cadillacs than that successful men in any other business or profession should reach this bracket.

Is this the kind of fact finding on which *Harper's* has built its reputation? The only fact about it is that Salisbury and Fischer are giving currency, no doubt unconsciously, to an antique view that the farmer is a peasant.

Fischer suggests that the farmer is more privileged than others, because the taxpayer keeps the farmer in clover. The farmer "got in the habit of accepting his dole" and "when any hog keeps his jowls in the trough long enough, he gets to thinking he owns the trough."

Well, let's put that idea on parade and see who salutes. In the 1920's Congress voted the oil and gas industry a whopping deduction from their taxes each year because they might be running out of oil and gas. We are still giving it to them, now at the rate of a 27.5-percent deduction a year, and we also let them amortize their equipment and knock off their "invisible drilling expenses," whatever they are. All the other extractive industries told Congress they were discriminated against, so we gave them a subsidy too in the form of tax deductions. Loss to the Treasury in these "depletion allowances" has far exceeded all farm subsidies. Jack Fischer says he wouldn't so much mind helping the farmer if the farmer were a real charity case. But nobody has yet made out a charity case for Standard Oil!

And what about those rapid tax write-offs on billions of dollars in new plants which Congress gave to steel, aluminum, automobile, and most other big industries during the 13 years, 1942-1955? We called it national defense, and it was worth it. But industrial net profits more than doubled in that period. Is a tax concession any less of a subsidy than a cash payment?

The indirect subsidy of protective tariffs gives the chemical industry a 50-percent price cushion against foreign competition in coal-tar products. Razor manufacturers have 100 percent leeway; watchmakers, 50 percent; woolen clothmakers, 60 percent. These subsidies nick the consumer, not the taxpayer, but isn't he the same fellow?

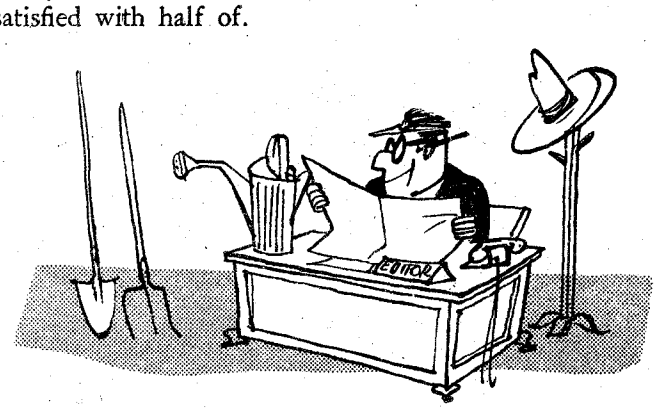
Even enterprises like *Harper's* share in what Mr. Fischer derides as the taxpayer's gravy train. In 1955 twelve issues of *Harper's* averaged about one-half pound each. The postman delivered these copies to *Harper's* subscribers for about six cents postage each month, but this service really cost the Post Office Department and the taxpayer about 27 cents. The cost figure is based on a pro-rating of the present second-class mail operation (1955 revenue about $50 million, deficit about $175 million). Congress has written a magazine and newspaper subsidy into every postal-rate act for the last 150 years, and it is worth every cent of it.

But all of this fails to get at fundamentals. The farmer cannot be held up as a peculiar example of government support, because there is nothing we make in this country that doesn't have a government support under it, whether it is called a subsidy, or tariff, or depletion allowance, or tax write-off, or wage contract or guarantee. Ever since World War I American business has moved away from classical free competition. No housewife is surprised to find "competitive" boxes of Surf and Tide at the chain store in identical sized containers and at identical prices.

In this evolution the farmer remains the most difficult holdout. He cannot adjust quickly to swings in market demand; he has no power to manipulate prices. The government has had to be his agent, or abandon one-seventh of the population to continual depression. Fischer is right in suggesting it is time for an overhaul of farm programs, that we must retire acres from production, and gradually nudge some farmers off the land. But how do you nudge them? Has anyone suggested that union labor should be nudged out of the way for automation by a 40-percent drop in wages? That's just what we are trying to do in agriculture.

I may be wrong. Certainly being a farmer doesn't make a man an expert on national farm policy. I'm as sure as Jack Fischer that the farmer has come a long way in the last 25 years, and his progress has been one of the great stories of American history. A quarter century ago the majority of our farmers lived under weather-beaten aging roofs, carried water in buckets from open wells, and enjoyed few schools and almost no hospital service because farm income could not support such needs. By the end of World War II these farmers under government guidance had raised themselves to the approximate level of our factory workers, with family incomes of about $4000. Now some of those gains have been wiped out by the farm recession of the 1950's.

The new farm program we need will not resemble that of depression days, nor that of the war years. It must be based upon new facts, not jeers. And it must enable the farmers who remain on the land to share in American prosperity, whatever its level. That's a crude definition of parity. You know how a Texas wag defined parity? Parity, he said, is a fair income that a farmer should be satisfied with half of.



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BOOKS & COMMENT

An Old Pro at Work

by Leslie A. Fiedler

I SHOULD like to say first of all what there is about Mr. O'Hara's book that pleases me, but I do not find this task very easy. Surely, it is not the subject matter: still another family history which is also the history of a town, a patiently documented exposé of Gibbsville, Pa., that can only reveal finally the secret shouted from the housetops through the last 75 years of fiction: *trouble in bed!* This is a bore, as are most of the characters. Joseph B. Chapin, the man who wanted to be President of the United States and died of cirrhosis and a broken heart, is not imagined but carefully reconstructed out of old newspaper items and sociological surveys: a sort of unsuccessful Republican version of F.D.R., rendered statistically as a fact of history rather than of the imagination. And yet I found pleasure as well as

Ten North Frederick, by John O'Hara (Random House; $3.95).

tedium in the novel; for it contains a certain quality—modesty and competence are the words that occur to me—which has become rare. *Ten North Frederick* has, that is to say, certain old-fashioned virtues as well as other more apparent old-fashioned weaknesses. It is pre-eminently the work of a "pro," put together efficiently and with a kind of honesty that has nothing to do with its philosophy or its feelings, an honesty of craftsmanship.

It is important, I think, to distinguish the professional writer from the professional entertainer — Mr. O'Hara, say, from Mr. Wouk; for the former produces certain standard items in accordance with tried and trustworthy techniques, while the latter forges slick (and bowdlerized) facsimiles of those items. It is, perhaps, because I have been recently engaged with *Marjorie Morningstar* that I have turned with special relish to *Ten North Frederick.* There is in Mr. O'Hara none of the pretentiousness of the counterfeiter; as there is in him none of the pretentiousness of the amateur: the proud-shy proferring of inexpertness as a guarantee of honesty. I recall, in this connection, Norman Mailer, whom I have also just finished reading. Mr. Mailer is just as much the prisoner of certain obsolete conventions of the novel as Mr. O'Hara, but he keeps thinking that by inventing Hemingway all over from scratch he is making something quite new. Mr. O'Hara claims only to be performing well, and this in itself is a pleasurable relief.

THERE are, of course, real limitations to professionalism, however modest, and of these I am well aware. Not only does this sort of competence imply a reworking of already established models, a kind of academicism (for academic Mr. O'Hara is, despite a frankness which his blurb writers hope we will find "shocking"), a preclusion of invention and experiment; it leads also to the mechanical. It is dangerous to emulate too closely the precision of the machine; when the guildsman has reached the ultimate pitch of such efficiency, there is no longer any reason not to substitute for him the actual machine, which is, after all, even more efficient. In quite the same way as the camera inherited the job of academic realism in painting, an analagous machine seems bound to take over in writing. I am sure that even now there is being put together in the cellar of some half-mad inventor a device which will replace the academic realist in fiction. By denying imagination and poetry, such novelists as Mr. O'Hara have cleared the way for their own extinction.

Here, for instance, is Mr. O'Hara establishing in accordance with his principles the "reality" of a certain neighborhood:

> The Johnson's neighbors in the 100 block were a railroad engineer, two railroad firemen, a young chiropractor, a Civil War veteran and his maiden nieces, a pharmacist, two salesmen for clothing stores, an insurance adjuster, the manager of an absentee-owned bakery, a state forestry official, a freight clerk for the Pennsylvania Railroad, and a newspaper man.

One could not ask an I.B.M. machine to do better—or worse! One does not doubt the minimal "truth" of such observations, any more than one doubts the "truth" of the phonographically recorded dialogue which fills most of the space between such chunks of data; they are merely not true enough—and they are finally irrelevant. This is "solidity of specification" turned into "hypertrophy of information." The same confusion of insight and fact, which made a large part of the more respectable public think of the participants on *Information Please* as sages, has produced this sad impasse in the novel.

Nearly 50 years ago, certain more advanced writers, become aware of the threat posed by the statistical novel, sought to defy the pressure of science and the retreat to statistical truth. But of the whole "stream of consciousness," symbolist adventure, Mr. O'Hara has deliberately remained unaware. It is not, I think, that he has chosen to bypass Joyce, but that he has never felt his impact at all, never listened to any protest that the truth of art is not the truth of fact and figures, the reality of art not the reality of the newspaper or the case-worker's report. Mr. O'Hara feels dimly that there is some difference between fiction and "straight history," but he does not know what that difference is; and one finds him apologizing in a brief foreword for having told us in the novel that Joe Chapin's grandfather had been Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania before that office had in fact been instituted. At first, I tried to read this apology as some elaborate Twainian jest; but I have had finally to accept it as a quite straight-faced plea for pardon: the final betrayal of the silliness of Mr. O'Hara's aesthetics—and an ultimate indignity he is willing to endure for its sake.

YET no one, I am sure (beyond certain professional fact-hawks, who search works of this kind for "slips"), would continue to read Mr. O'Hara if his work were *merely* a cold and rigorous

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.ttempt to trap "truth" in a web of ob-ervations about the exact height of push-ells from the ground, the exact percent-ge of luncheon guests who take pills be-ore eating, the exact date the word "bore" ecame current at a certain level of pro-incial society, etc. On the other hand, here are real O'Hara devotees, dedicated ans like the boy I once met in a bar, vho insisted on telling me over and over gain through an interminable evening ow his life had been redeemed by eading *Butterfield 8* eleven times! What appeal do such addicts find in ction which denies all imagination and oetry? Certainly, it is not Mr. O'Hara's eat workmanship which thrills them.

It is rather, I suspect, the profound entimentality into which he lapses from ime to time, when the burden of icy xposure grows too great. I use the ord "sentimentality" only for lack of better one, to stand for a certain kind f ersatz poetry: the poor man's poetry f those who think they believe only in poor man's science. Mr. O'Hara's nore maudlin moments are usually con-ected with sex, which is for him (in distressingly simple-minded way) the ingle root of all joy and sorrow in life. Ie has toward it what seems super-cially a no-nonsense air, a resolve to nsist upon the mechanical facts of copu-ation behind the superstructure of ro-nantic love; but one finds that his in-istence upon the physical nature of assion has left quite untouched in his nind all the Victorian clichés about love t first sight. There is no more doubt bout what he means by "living happily ver after" than there is about what that hrase means to the most conventionally omantic schoolgirl.

His softer banalities are buttressed with a certain tougher sort of wisdom argely gleaned from the sexual myth-logy of the streets: that cold looking vomen are always the hottest ones in he clinch; that upperclass ladies in-ariably dream of being raped by un-haven roughnecks, etc.; but the central logma of his creed is the notion that eal passion—the blind reaching out of onely souls for mutual physical relief—oes sour in marriage. The main fable f *Ten North Frederick* concerns Joe Chapin's slow extinction inside a world lefined by the sexuality and ambition f his wife; but there is a bitter-sweet ip-ending before his final dissolution into a lush and "leading citizen"—a climax which finds him in bed with the beautiful and passionate young girl who is the room-mate of his nymphomaniac daughter.

The falsity of this quasi-incestuous flight from the arms of mama to those of sis is compounded by a ladies' magazine aura of self-sacrifice, in which the two improbable lovers (yes, love did come at last to Joe Chapin!) agree to separate at their moment of bliss, one to live and one to die. I feel in this resolution as egregious a loss of nerve as in, say, the hoaked-up conclusion of *Great Expectations*. O'Hara finally betrays his own conception to gratify the maudlin wishes of his readers. By all the logic of plot and character up to the very moment when O'Hara relents, Joe Chapin should have been too bound in the prison of habit and reserve to have declared himself at all; or if he had managed to blurt out a confession of his love, the girl should have found him an old goat, half pitiful, half absurd—to be milked for an expensive gift or to be rejected out of hand.

Here the book buckles and is lost; for only a dedication to imaginative truth is a protection against the sentimental falsification which neither the craftsmanship of the professional, nor the realism of the journalist can withstand.

High Farce in '56 (Curtain-Raisers)

LOCAL 802 of the American Federation of Musicians has denied a union card to Emil Gilels, the Soviet pianist now touring the US. In a public statement, the union announced that Gilels had failed satisfactorily to answer some questions, one relating to Communist Party membership, the other to required six months residence in Manhattan.

☆

WALTER REYNOLDS (Dem.), Mayor of Providence, Rhode Island has declined to accept on behalf of his fellow-citizens, a statue of Thomas Paine. In the judgment of Mayor Reynolds, Paine is "a controversial figure," and therefore unsuitable to sit in stone in a Providence city park.

☆

IN CAMDEN, N. J., where Walt Whitman spent the last nineteen years of his life, the diocesan director of the Holy Name Society, The Rev. Edward B. Lucitt, has come to the defense of public morality by protesting the naming of a new Delaware River bridge after the *Leaves of Grass* poet. Whitman, says Father Lucitt, "had neither the noble stature or quality of accomplishment that merits this tremendous honor, and his life and works are personally objectionable to us."

When asked why Whitman was "objectionable," Father Lucitt noted that Dr. Gay Wilson Allen in his recent biography of Whitman (*The Solitary Singer*) had called the poet a "homo-erotic."

Answering a *New York Times* query, Dr. Allen explained that by this term he meant to say Whitman's writings showed "a strong affection for man."

"Many saints show the same feeling," Dr. Allen added.

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A Democratic Optimist on Russia

by Nicholas V. Riasanovsky

PRESIDENT MASARYK'S two-volume study of "the spirit of Russia" was first published in German in 1913. An English edition appeared in 1919. The present, second, edition, having come out after a lapse of some 40 years, escapes being an anachronism because of certain solid merits of the original work, not because of Mr. Slavik's superfluous additions which consist merely of a factual chapter on the Russian Revolution and the first years of the Soviet regime and a bibliography ending with 1931.

To begin with, *The Spirit of Russia* is remarkably rich in content, or, to be more precise, this is true of its second part, "sketches of Russian philosophy of history and philosophy of religion," which forms the bulk of the study and which is preceded by a weak and conventional historical introduction and followed by a provocative, but not entirely convincing, conclusion. The "sketches" include not only the views of such famous figures as Herzen, Bakunin, Belinsky, and Vladimir Soloviev, but also those of numerous other thinkers little known outside Russia, the literary critic A. Grigoriev, the publicist Katkov, and the liberal professors Miliukov and Novgorodtsev, to select only a few from the large and varied group discussed by the author. The vast material covered has value for all interested in Russian thought, and it represents a real treasure-trove for those who have to do their reading about Russia in English.

The Spirit of Russia, by T. G. Masaryk; new edition with matter added at Masaryk's request by Jan Slavik (Macmillan; two volumes; $13.50).

Unfortunately, though closely packed, Dr. Masaryk's narrative is by no means complete. In fact, the author was especially interested in Dostoevsky and undertook his huge study of Russian thought as an introduction to that fascinating writer who was to be treated fully in the sequel to the two volumes. But the sequel was never written. The result is that *The Spirit of Russia*, with its constant references to Dostoevsky, the examination of whose ideas was to unite and crown the work, reads a little like those experimental and questionable plays where the hero never appears on the stage. Tolstoy also fails to make an entry, and the same fate befalls some other figures. The performance is saved by the large number, richness, and variety of well-executed character parts.

This analogy should not be extended too far, however, for it must be emphasized that the author is primarily interested in ideas, not in men. It is a great merit of Dr. Masaryk's study that, although he investigates Russian intellectual history thinker by thinker, he cuts unfailingly and quickly through the anecdotal, the trivial, and the routine to the core of a man's thought: his theory of knowledge, and his basic views in religion, ethics, and politics. The author is often opinionated and even dogmatic, but his observations are always critical, sharp, and clear. They are also original. *The Spirit of Russia* is above all a venture in philosophical analysis; it has intellectual unity in spite of divergent content and defective structure.

Among the author's most penetrating and impressive sketches are those dealing with the thought of men such as Belinsky or Mikhailovsky, who tried to combine an empirical approach to reality with an emphasis on duty and ethics. Dr. Masaryk fares worst with certain types of religious ideologies. His discussion of the doctrines presented in "The Signposts" even verges on caricature. As to his general judgment of Russian intellectual development, expressed especially in the third part of the work, the author stresses the overwhelmingly practical and utilitarian character of Russian thinking, the virtual absence of the critique of knowledge which played such a large role in the philosophical growth of the West, and the enormity of the gap between the teachings of the Russian Orthodox church and the demands of the modern world. All these assertions may be valid, or partly valid, but in any case they require much more qualification, elaboration, and shading than Dr. Masaryk is willing to provide. For instance, if the neglect of Kant and the resulting immaturity of philosophical thought in Russia are to be linked to Bolshevism, what is one to make of Nazism?

DR. MASARYK by no means limits his observations to Russia. On the contrary, he treats the intellectual development of that country in the much larger context of the evolution of thought in Western civilization. This fundamentally sound approach deserves special commendation at a time when we hear so much about the alleged uniqueness and unfathomableness of the Russians. The author's concern with the larger picture has led him to include in his study complete sections on such general topics as the eighteenth century in the West, "anarchism and socialism" and "liberalism."

It may well be argued that although both the author's material and his discussion of it have present value, his own point of view is irretrievably *passé*. Dr. Masaryk has faith in progress and directs his main attack against the theocrati

Undergraduate Notes

THE beer at Jim and Billie's wasn't strong
by adolescent standards, but enough
to set an old man ragged in his walk
and make his manner garrulous and rough.
Bumping about the room, it wasn't long
until he spied me shy enough for talk.

His life (drink urged the climax) had reached point
when, hired to paint a dormitory floor,
he peered through transoms, watched the girls undress.
It must have happened forty years before.
I saw him several evenings in the joint
and heard each time his ladder to success.

KNUTE SKINNER

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ıte. He is an earnest believer, but a nvinced opponent of any hierarchy ·d any church, as well as a scoffer at upernaturalism." He has a high regard r Kant, Feuerbach and for German ealistic philosophy as a whole. He is ı ardent Democrat, but appears to be ıaware of the pitfalls of democracy.

T IS possible, however, that in spite of cataclysms which have occurred since s day, the author of *The Spirit of Russia* really not remote from us. The classi- l theocratic states of his day are gone, ıt the new totalitarian ones have re- ned their worst characteristics and may en be more "theocratic" by the au- or's own definition than their debili- ed predecessors. The concept of pro- ess has lost its cosmic ring, but it is ll the object of hope and expectation r the whole world whether it is linked the ever-expanding American stand- d of life, the power of the atom, or ? fabulous potential of the so-called derdeveloped areas of the earth. Reli- ous search continues to go in many rections including that chosen by asaryk, and clericalism in a variety of rms remains an issue in numerous rts of the globe. There has been no vival of Feuerbach but existentialism s come forward offering new philoso- ical systems to guide man in his per- tent effort to understand reality. Dem- racy has passed through several em- ttled decades, yet many of its propo- nts radiate the same confidence as Dr. asaryk had.

One may detect something anachron- ic in the author's buoyant optimism d in his readiness to deal with every oblem in terms of a simple system of ought. Yet, these characteristics too ıy be viewed from a different perspec- e: not as an echo of the past, but as a allenge of the future, the glorious ture to be won by human reason and man effort which were the great hope the late president of the late Republic Czechoslovakia.

otes on Contributors

SLIE A. FIEDLER is the author of a con- versial new book of criticism, *An End Innocence*. NICHOLAS V. RIASONOVSKY on the History faculty of the Univer- y of Iowa. KNUTE SKINNER is a young nerican poet. GEOFFREY WAGNER is a velist and critic.

FILMS

CLIFFORD ODETS is not only a very gifted though erratic playwright, but an excellent scenario writer, and his complete condemnation of Hollywood in *The Big Knife* has an important meaning, despite the false or limited nature of the attack.

The villain responsible for Hollywood's evil in *The Big Knife* is an omnipotent Hollywood magnate. He has two capable assistants in his infamy, and

The Big Knife (United Artists).

there is some implication that as a satanic monster he is a symbol of Hollywood's "system" (as one might say the capitalistic system), particularly of its commercialism. And the magnate certainly stops at nothing to protect the interests of the studio; his infamy includes eavesdropping by tape-recorder, blackmail, and attempted murder. It is the interests of the studio which make him intervene in the private life of the male film star who is the hero of the Odets' script. The film star has killed a child in a hit-and-run accident and his best friend has sacrificed himself and gone to jail for ten months as the culprit to save the star's reputation with the public. The hushed-up scandal serves as the magnate's blackmail weapon by means of which he compels the star to sign a new seven-year contract instead of departing from Hollywood's corruption. The best friend's wife also uses the same means to induce the film star to sleep with her. When the best friend finds this out he spits in the star's face, a repudiation which is final proof to the star of his own degradation and self-betrayal and the immediate cause of his suicide.

The allocation of guilt is typical of the confusion of the entire script: the star condemns himself and the film magnate; the best friend condemns the star and not his own wife, although the lady has a permanent and democratic inclination to adultery. The star's wife condemns the magnate and Hollywood as a commercialized system. She names some of the heroic directors and stars who have succeeded in surmounting Hollywood's organized degradation, yet her conviction that Hollywood itself corrupts her husband extends to the strange belief that departure will redeem their marriage, since her husband would be less tempted to infidelity elsewhere in America. The reason for her view is not at all clear, but possibly she believes that her husband's tendency to casual fornication is the result of the frustration of his exalted artistic aspirations.

I mention these, rather than other details of the story, to indicate how confused *The Big Knife* is as a condemnation of Hollywood. For no matter how monstrous and commercial the villainous magnate may be, the magnate's aims and despotic power are hardly the cause of the hit-and-run accident, the star's surrender to infatuated starlets, his betrayal of friendship and his self-betrayal. It is true that the magnate uses these failings for his own evil purposes, but this does not account for what is wrong with Hollywood films.

The real problem is not so much commercialism's domination as commercialism's impotence to master the causes of box office success and failure, which is essentially a failure to understand the public. It may be that this unrecognized impotence has much to do with making survival in Hollywood a matter of being willing and quick at cutting the throats of others (which someone once described as the higher form of unselfishness, since by cutting one's friend's throat one prevented him from becoming a cutthroat himself). But the primary problem remains, not the presence of cutthroats, but of Hollywood's troubled relationship with the fickle and unpredictable public which awards box office success or denies it for reasons which elude the most intent commercialisms of the filmmakers.

When *The Big Knife* appeared on Broadway it was freely predicted that there would be no film version, so savage is the attack on Hollywood as a whole and so recognizable the Hollywood magnate. The filming of Odets' play does not suggest that a new era of integrity, purity of heart or openness to criticism, but whether or not it was prompted by the success of *The Country Girl*, it suggests the possibility that Hollywood has reached a point of bewildered desperation which makes the magnate a welcome enough scapegoat. Apart from speculation, however, the important point is that *The Big Knife* as a con-

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demnation is melodrama and oversimplification and in direct contrast to the compassion and acute delicacy of recognition which Odets gave to the ordeal of the Broadway actor in *The Country Girl,* and which Hollywood's version rendered with perfect sympathy.

There are touches in *The Big Knife* which remind one of Odets' gifts as a writer, particularly the Hollywood magnate's appearance, his smoked glasses and hearing aid and his total self-dramatization. He wears the smoked glasses indoors and though he takes them off now and then, there is the suggestion that they are worn not to diminish the glaring sunlight and help him to see, but to indicate to others how they are to see him: as a being of mystery, wise, hidden and unique. The hearing aid has its customary function; but it breaks down when the magnate hears what he does not want to hear, and he is clearly only willing to listen to what he has indicated he wants other human beings to say to him. These and other details of his personality are mostly passed over or left undeveloped, but Rod Steiger's performance as the magnate is superior to the role itself (this is true also of Wendell Cory as his hatchet man and of Ilka Chase as a Hollywood columnist). What the smoked glasses and the hearing aid suggest as symbols is that the magnate exists in a state of ignorance of the public, of all other human beings, and above all himself. It is the kind of ignorance which is intensified by a sense of isolated superiority. It is this isolation from oneself and hence from all others that shows itself again and again on the telltale screen in one film after another.

The attempt in *The Big Knife* to make the magnate and commercialism the primary source of evil suggests a continuation and extension of the remarks I made about Hitchcock's career in Hollywood. The crucial error is not, I repeat, commercialism, but the mistaken assumption that one knows what the public wants. Thus Hitchcock, though he has more freedom of choice, in casting particularly, is probably regarded just as most directors and stars are: they can direct or act, but the front office has the knowledge of what the public wants and hence must tell these gifted beings *what* to direct or what roles to perform. The ignorance involved is like the logic of lunatics, proof against any correction by experience: success and failure are equally available as evidence that the public consists of children and fools, a half-truth which is true enough of the adult public to be more deceptive than simple falsehood.

For example, the belief that success provides the basis for a formula continues to be one of the worst of Hollywood's assumptions, along with the view that there must be *some* formula for success in pleasing the public. If there were, then it would have been long since discovered and sufficient effort would produce not only successful films but Broadway hits and best sellers with dependable regularity; and the information provided by the box office or by public opinion agencies would suffice. But the public which is like everyone else, i cluding the beings of Hollywood, do not know what it is going to want ne month. This natural state of mind not entirely fickle and arbitrary, ho ever; the public likes cheesecake and fil mignon, but not so much that a repe tion of both three times a day sev times a week, 12 months a year will n become unbearable. And although o important cause of the fickleness of t public is the constantly shifting anxie which human beings feel in mode life, nevertheless the public is consta in its desire for news of the nature experience which is genuine.

This is as close to a formula as o can come, and it is close enough. It not always easy to distinguish betwe the genuine and the bogus, but it can accomplished much of the time by int spection. If you don't think a joke funny or a story is interesting, t chances of making anyone else laugh be interested are very much reduced, a this criterion, thus formulated with u avoidable over-simplification, is a bet guide by far than the box office, whi will tell you what the public liked l week, but at the same time deceive y about what the public is going to li next month. There are other compli tions, including those special to Holl wood or any art directed to a vast m of anonymous human beings, or invol ing co-operative effort and enormous nancial risk. Only item by item of lustration would make the positive poi —that the public wants everything to genuine—entirely convincing.

The Big Knife as a version of what wrong with Hollywood film maki may be accurate enough in certain i stances. But the truth is never accura Matisse remarked in a like connectic and neither villainy nor nobility, co mercialism or a purity of aim accou for more than two generations of Hol wood's successes or failures. It is wh nothing human is alien to you that y have a chance to hold the attention human beings in vast numbers. T magnate's smoked glasses and heari aids are symbols not of despotism a avarice but of self-alienation and alienation from other human being everything characteristic of Char Chaplin connected him and related h to the entire human race.

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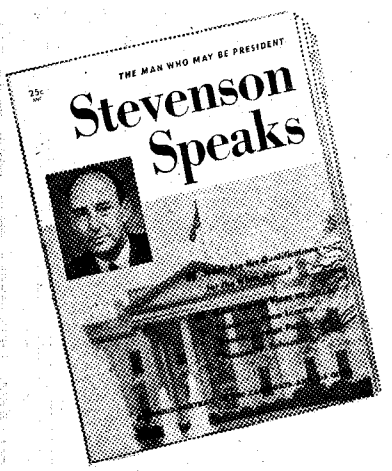

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PAINTING

OSE conversant with contemporary erican art know that it is strongly luenced—controlled, some would say by a few Museums, principally three the city of New York. Their direc- s jury more and more shows, award various art grants (again jurying the missions at the invitation of the ndations), send selected representa- es to the big exhibitions in Venice, is, Sao Paulo, London, and in gen- l act as consultants on American ntings and moderators of taste.

Of course, this is no aesthetic con- racy. The directors are men of much od will, harassed by the sincerity of ir intentions and the onus of their ponsibilities. Yet they are not neces- ily better judges of painting for that l there have lately been distinct signs a growing exasperation at the dogma t the new must be the authentic in selection of modern American paint- . Moreover, being human, such pun- s play their favorites.

So it is especially refreshing to break of this rather charmed circle and it an entirely independent exhibition, h as the current Carnegie Interna- nal at Pittsburgh, consisting of paint- s from twenty-three countries chosen Mr. Gordon Washburn, Director of Carnegie Institute. This is the third h exhibition since the last war under- itten for the Institute by the A. W. llon Educational and Charitable ust, whose aid now apparently ceases, that it is most strongly to be hoped t another equally generous source will found to sponsor further Carnegie ernationals, now possibly the most portant contemporary shows in this ntry.

the same time one may warmly agree with Mr. Washburn's approach, ich turns out reflect the "official" te of New York. Not only has he olicly equated trends in modern paint- with those in automobiles, but he pears, from the preface to his present alog, to entertain the jejune notion t poverty magically assumes the cloth artistic excellence, that if more of us ew about the "roof-top" insecurity of nters, fewer would be inclined to question their competence. The general flavor of the Pittsburgh show reveals, I am afraid, more enthusiasm than dis- crimination in its selection, the main body of it being tamely sensationalist ghost painting — ghosts of Picasso, Léger, Mondrain, Braque abound beside the newer, slicker ghosts of Jackson Pol- lock and William de Kooning. This is not the place to criticize the clichés of the international style, since Mr. Howard Devree has already done so in his review of the show for *The New York Times*, pointing out that

> . . . Since there is no clearly recog- nizable content involved in much of the work, the use of shapes and colors demands the attention. But I cannot believe that so many artists are really so much alike that it is difficult to tell one player from another even with a score card.

The Carnegie First Prize to Manessier's (to my mind, hideously blasphemous) *Crown of Thorns* hits the exact center of these vaguely divergent Modern trends, all of which are essentially simi- lar since they spring from the same au- tomatically and obligatorily "artistic" at- titude to the world, which has indeed become a highbrow cliché.

The time has come to realize that the business of the well-fed philistine realist versus the impoverished avant-garde ab- stractionist has become so much obscur- antist bluff, a smoke-screen thrown up by directors and critics alike at the slight- est challenge of their choices. Art no longer has its back to the wall in this country. In fact, it has probably never been so cosseted as it is now. De Koon- ing's resurrection of the cadaver of ex- pressionism has enormous news-value and commands two pages out of four on the Carnegie International in *Life* (No- vember 21), whose review incidentally observes that the abstractions illustrated "go beyond the limits of any style" (*i.e.*, are all the same at heart). Again, Emily Genauer's article on young John Hult- berg, a painter recently "spotted" by the Museum of Modern Art, we are told, and represented in both current shows, could appear in as popular an organ as *This Week* under the title "A Painter Hits the Jackpot."

Thus the perpetuation of the myth of the garret artist is a symptom of what is no less than an unconscious arresting of normal artistic evolution by the pundits. The objective evaluation by formal standards, to which a literary work is at once exposed in this country, is minimal in the kind of abstraction chiefly on dis- play in Pittsburgh and New York. You can, in short, say anything about a can- vas which is not about anything. As the *Life* "plug" shows, this kind of painting is beautifully safe, a non-committed statement given the spuriously democra- tic dignity of the it-means-one-thing-to- you-another-to-me kind of approach.

And of course this is precisely what a good painting does not achieve. To a craftsman, the product of his craft is an exemplification of certain skills, by whose executive ability he directs you to an experience. A painting usually means what it is intended to mean, and I suggest that our fashionable abstrac- tionists make up their minds what they want to say, and then say it. Anyone, a child, even de Kooning, can create a problem. To solve it with some of that dignity and harmony with which the great aesthetic crises of the past have been resolved is the artist's real task. Picasso's Guernica carries the ring of truth, not because it depicts war from within the maelstrom, but because it is aesthetically selective and orders our shocked responses to a point of tragic catharsis. And since the "action" ab- stractionists like Hofmann, Robert Motherwell, and Kline, so sedulously ex- hibited in shows like the Carnegie and Whitney, refuse to rise above experience in this way, their works have a feeling of frivolity, rather than despair.

The situation is serious. There are just not the same standards of formal appreciation available to our painters, as there are to our writers, today (the choice of realism is the give-away for the pundits here). Mr. Washburn may naïvely claim that much of the piffle written about modern art in this country is "obviously" unsatisfactory, and that "detractors of the modern movement" make attacks that "discredit the critic's rather than the painter's art." But this is exactly the point. We badly need a Bernard Berenson. GEOFFREY WAGNER

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CORRESPONDENCE

► Schools: U.S. Emergency

SIRS:

In the correspondence columns of *The New Republic* of December 26, the principal of the Thomas Jefferson High School in Fair Lawn, N.J., Mr. Harry T. Gumaer, objects to what he calls "an error in scholarship" in Michael Straight's citation of figures showing the decline in the percentage of high school students enrolled in various subjects. The passage in question pointed out that the percentage decline since 1900 has been "from 84 to 54 in the sciences, from 86 to 55 percent in mathematics, and from 73 to 22 percent in foreign languages." There is no error whatever here. The statistics are those of the U.S. Office of Education.

Mr. Gumaer blames the decline on an alleged lack of aptitude and interest on the part of students who have come into the high schools since class barriers have been eliminated. He may believe that "50 years of psychological and educational research" have destroyed the basic assumptions of democracy concerning the capacity and educability of the common man, but I for one do not. Moreover, the decline in percentage enrollment in fundamental subjects can be explained more simply and directly. It reflects not so much a decreased willingness on the part of students to study the basic disciplines as a decreased opportunity for them to do so.

The situation in one state with a well-supported school system has been carefully surveyed by Prof. Boyd Carter of the University of Nebraska and his colleagues in modern languages and literatures. In 1918-19 some 56.5 percent of high-school students in 110 towns of over 1000 population in Nebraska were studying foreign languages. Today (1954-55) the figure stands at only 8.7 percent. What lies behind this precipitous decline? In 1918-19 some 308 high schools were offering foreign languages. By 1933-34 (at the depth of the depression) the number had increased to 448. Today only 68 schools are teaching any foreign language.

Students in wealthy cities and suburbs still have the opportunity to study fundamental subjects. The statistics show, however, that the doors to sound learning are being slammed shut in thousands of smaller, poorer, and more remote communities. The situation in fields other than languages is equally appalling. Some 53 percent of American high schools offer no physics, 24 percent no geometry, 23 percent neither physics nor chemistry.

The educationists' argument that their pet programs—"life-adjustment education" and the like—represent additions to the curriculum, which leave basic courses unimpaired, simply will not hold water. Fair Lawn, N.J., may be able to afford all kinds of programs. Most communities, however, lack the resources to give instruction in both the fundamentals and the trivia. They must choose, and high-powered propaganda from professional educationists has been pushing them toward the latter. Throughout the nation Gresham's law is inexorably at work, the cheap currency driving out the sound.

No school policy more antithetical to the ideal of democratic opportunity can possibly be imagined. To deny the children of ordinary men and women the possibility of intellectual training is not educational liberalism but the blackest reaction.

Obviously we must spend more money on the public schools. But we have no business allowing the money to be diverted, as so much of it has been, from basic intellectual training to various dolls-house programs of playing at life. We must have a scale of priorities in public education, and we must make sure that school administrators adhere to it. The saddest failure of the White House Conference was its failure to come to grips with the real crisis in American education—the crisis of quality.

ARTHUR BESTOR, *Professor of History, University of Illinois*
Urbana, Illinois

• • •

SIRS:

With reference to the decline in enrollment and mathematics Mr. Straight writes (*NR*, December 12): "This drift, moreover, seems certain to continue for as long as the basic disciplines are neglected in our schools while under i free elective system credits in home e nomics and history are on a par in colleges."

Like you, I do not want time was in education, but your statement lea me wondering how you would de "basic." I would raise these questio (1) Could there be any aspect of culture more "basic" than the hon (2) Is the job of education not one preparation for living a richer, ful life? (3) Is there not evidence to sh that families are in trouble and youth need preparation for this imp tant aspect of life?

It is my belief that home econom can provide a wonderful opportun for the student to learn not only how think his way through problems rela to the home but also to understand it has been the application of man's telligence to his practical problems has brought him from a cave existe to his present state. Moreover, ho economics can bring the student to ognize and appreciate the interdepe ence existing among members of family and families of the human ra

I have confidence that home eco mics can contribute significantly to education of young people not only creating happy homes but also for t ing their place as citizens of the wor

JOHNIE CHRISTI
Arlington, Virginia

► The Legacy of Kierkegaard

SIRS:

Soren Kierkegaard's reception America seems to have been based the condition that he be often quo and seldom read; it is difficult to fi another author so thoroughly misund stood and misrepresented. Consequen E. M. Fleissner's thoughtful essay Kierkegaard (*NR*, Dec. 26) is w come for its attempt to present his thorship as a whole and to avoid fa conclusions. Yet I hope you will per me to express one compunction ab this otherwise perceptive interpretatio

Fleissner claims, "Much of Kier gaard's ambivalence may be called mantic. He was, in fact, influenced the German romanticists" etc. The a biguity of such a statement plays into hands of those persistent misread (and nonreaders) who insist t

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erkegaard is a crypto-romantic. Prob-ly the misinterpretation would have ·ased him because it proves the vital- of his work written under the aes-·tic pseudonyms. But no one so clearly ognized the demonic element in ro-·nticism. What he learned from ro-nticism was the principle of its own f-destruction, and he used the lan-age of romanticism to seduce the ·der away from it, just as he used ·gel's language to refute the System.

I am not sure what Mr. Fleissner ans when he suggests that "already *Either/Or* [Kierkegaard] came to the ıclusion that aestheticism was a phil-›phy of despair . . ." If he means ıt this work represents a stage of ›wth away from romanticism, then he wrong. Kierkegaard was not a ro-ıntic before he wrote *Either/Or,* and his use of the language and feelings the aesthete, he knew precisely what was doing. Permit me to quote his n words from *The Point of View*:

When I began *Either/Or* . . . written in ne space of eleven months, and the econd Part first . . . I was potentially s deeply under the influence of re-ligion as ever I have been . . . and I can ssure the reader . . . that the author of *ither/Or* devoted a definite time every ay, regularly and with monastic pre-ision, to reading for his own sake edi-ying books, and that in fear and in nuch trembling he reflected upon his esponsibility.

One concluding point about the al-ged influence of romanticism on erkegaard: in the winter of 1841-2 at : University of Berlin he heard Schel-g expound a philosophy of romantic :alism, listening first with interest and :n with disgust; in February he com-ıined mordantly in a letter to his ›ther that "Schelling drivels on quite olerably. . . . His whole doctrine of tency betrays the greatest impotence." :e next month he hastened back to penhagen to complete the work on *:her/Or.*

E. V. WALTER
Ohio Wesleyan University
:laware, Ohio

Mass Exodus from Mississippi

ıs:

A newspaper out here has published report of a lecture stating that 2000 :groes have left the town of Green-›od, Miss., since the grand jury re-fused to indict the Till murderers. I do not know if this statement is true, but it suggests a very effective way to meet the challenge of a state which has made its plans to defy the US Supreme Court.

Why not get the Negroes out of Mississippi? I suggest this as a technique to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Let the Association open agencies to register families which desire to move, and prepare dossiers giving full information about them; and let all sympathizers both white and black in the North set out on a crusade to find jobs and homes for them.

What would it do to Mississippi? What would it do to any civilized community to have almost half its population move away? A few wouldn't matter much, of course; the ruling class would laugh and say, Good riddance. But if it became a mass exodus? What would become of Southern hospitality if there was no one in the kitchen? What would become of King Cotton if the field hands were picking fruit in California?

As a Southerner born, I don't want to see another civil war, such as the "Councils" are threatening. Here is something gentle, and quiet, and entirely legal.

UPTON SINCLAIR
Corona, California

Bentley and the Bridge

SIRS:

When Eric Bentley chooses to write about a play he does so with the advantage of intelligence, sensitivity and knowledge unmatched in the critical fraternity. He is the one serious theatre critic now writing regularly. With due respect for its other virtues, I subscribe to the *New Republic* for the express purpose of reading and usually clipping Mr. Bentley's reviews. I eagerly anticipated his piece on Arthur Miller's new play, *A View from the Bridge.*

Allow me to express my keen disappointment that Mr. Bentley declined to concern himself with the actual play, either as a script or in performance, offering us instead a barrel full of red herrings preserved in brine.

PAUL R. BARSTOW
Wellesley, Mass.

I think, if Mr. Barstow will look back, he will find that I did make *some* remarks about the script and the performance. However, I did not review the play when it opened, but, rather, waited until the book came out in order to comment on the ideas of Miller's preface and, hence, Miller generally. In the matter of "red herrings" it is possible that political differences make it hard for Mr. Barstow and myself to see eye to eye. Personally, I think the pun—here and elsewhere—is misleading and that communism *is* relevant. In any case, Miller's side of it was expressed in Walter Goodman's article, twice the length of mine, a week later. It is probably clear that my standpoint is very different from Mr. Goodman's.

I am, naturally, touched by Mr. Barstow's tribute to my other work, though I shall not presume to think him right.

ERIC BENTLEY

BANDWAGON

THE WAXWORKS of Madame Tussaud has decided that the next President of the United States will be Richard Nixon or Adlai Stevenson if it isn't President Eisenhower.

The London waxworks, which prides itself on unveiling a model of the President the day after his election, is betting $1,000 each on them. That is what it costs to make a lifesize model.—*Seattle Times,* Dec. 21, 1955

THE NUECES COUNTY CHAPTER of the Texas Citizens Council announced that it gave the Chamber of Commerce a resolution objecting to a Negro figure in a group of wise men in a Nativity scene.

The resolution objected to "a Negroid personage" in the group of wise men as being "contrary to biblical authority and Southern tradition."—*Houston Post,* Dec. 22, 1955

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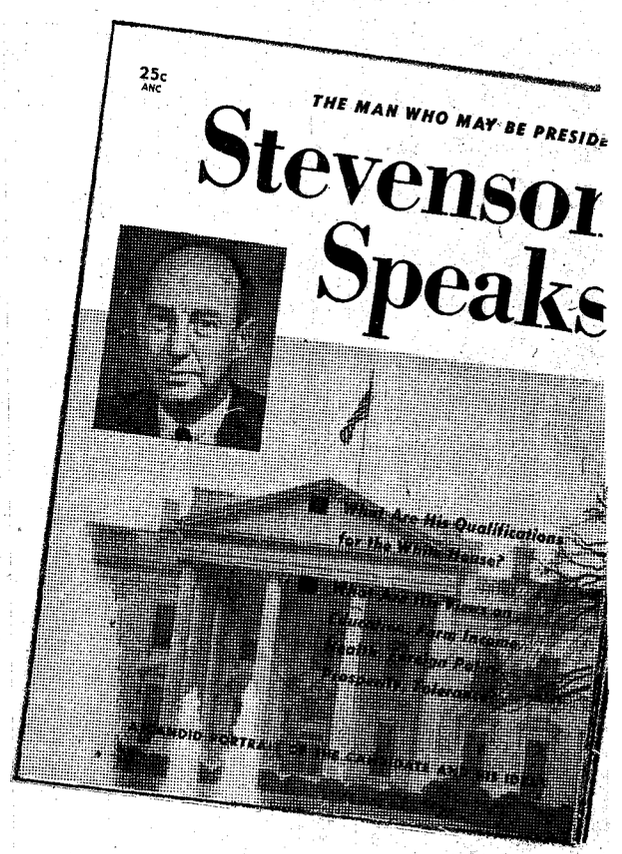

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